1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

721 A tribal war seldom has time, however, to work itself out to its own conclusion, since other tribes in the neighborhood soon see that to take an active interest in the affair will be to their advantage.

INTER-TRIBAL WARFARE

721 If a lively internal war has broken out in the tribe as a result of the refusal to pay a fine
727 imposed by the tribal council, or through a series of reciprocal murders and resultant alliances, made before the tribal council could intervene, the surrounding tribes call together their tribal councils which go to the territory of the warring tribe and meet as a great council of tribes in the middle of it, in a village, or in the open country. They summon the tribal council of the warring tribe to answer for its action. If the tribal council comes, the assembled tribal councils (the great council of tribes) assess a fine of from two to three thousand dollars, which they divide, giving each tribe with five *fifths* five parts, and each tribe with only one *fifth* one part. Then the subdivisions within the *fifths* and single tribes take place and the councillors go home.

If, however, the tribal council of the fighting tribe refuses to come and pay a fine, the tribe patches up its difference quickly and presents an united front against the invaders. In this case the councillors of the other tribes send home for retainers, each *fifth* separately, specifying the number of men to come from each *fifth*, from each *canton*, and from each *bone*. The old men, retired councillors, select the warriors and their judgment is final. The reënforcements come as soon as possible and there ensues a war between the erstwhile internally warring tribe and those which have come to punish it. If the alliance wins, it does so by defeating *canton* after *canton*, imposing a fine upon each when it submits; the fine levied on the first *canton* is about five thousand dollars, and the amount increases until the last *canton* to submit has to pay about fifteen thousand dollars. As each *canton* submits it must join the victors in fighting the rest of its own tribe, in return for which it receives its share of the fines paid as each of the other *cantons* submits. In this way all defeated *cantons* pay, and all but the last, which pays the most, receive shares of the spoils.

When the internal war is in Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya is the first tribe to send its councillors, then Beni Amart, usually on the same day; the next day Zarket and Bokoya send their contingents, and later the *canton* Tizera n Jakhatha of Beni Tuzin and that of Sidi Bu Daud of Temsaman. Sometimes Beni Said sends two or three councillors to join the others. Gzennaya, Beni Amart, and Bokoya usually sent all their councillors, whereas Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, and Zarket, as well as Beni Said, seldom send more than a few each. If the great council of tribes succeeds without further fighting, the councillors of Zarket, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, and Beni Said receive one or two hundred dollars per tribe. This money the individual councillors keep. The tribes which have come in full strength get their usual shares. If, however, it is necessary to send for reënforcements, the tribes poorly represented send for men with the rest, and after the affair has been settled their tribes receive their full shares, which are communally divided.

The tribes mentioned do not all necessarily interfere when Beni Urriaghel is fighting internally, but only if the combat promises to be extensive. The Gzennaya councillors, however, always go, and sometimes succeed in handling the situation alone. The Beni Urriaghel always band together immediately when other tribes step in, postponing settlement of their local differences until later. Beni Hadifa, nominally a *fifth* of Beni Urriaghel,

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is not required to pay its portion of the fines imposed upon Beni Urriaghel unless it has actually been involved. 721

When Temsaman fights internally, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, Gzennaya, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit send their councillors to the great council of tribes; Beni Ulishk and Tafersit count as one in the division of the spoils. Beni Urriaghel does not send councillors to Temsaman, partly because the others will not allow it, and partly because the tribe is afraid of retaliation. 727

When the war is in Gzennaya, the Beni Urriaghel, Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Marnissa, Metalsa, and Jebarna (the latter, although part of the Gzennaya, do not count as such in time of war, since they are recent immigrants from the Branes) send councillors. When the fight is centered in the *fifth* of Imsdurar, Branes also sends her representatives. Temsaman sends a single councillor if the fight promises to assume large proportions.

When Beni Tuzin occupies the center of the stage, the councillors of Gzennaya, Metalsa, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and Beni Said go, and Beni Amart sends a few representatives.

When the war is in Beni Amart, Gzennaya, Marnissa, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Hadifa (acting as a separate body), and chosen members of Zarket, Bokoya, and Beni Tuzin participate.

When Bokoya is involved, the councillors of Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, and selected members from Gzennaya, Mestassa, and Mtiwa of the Rif attend the great council of tribes. The Sherif of Targuist also is sometimes present at the final settlement, taking ten men with him as bodyguard. He does not take part in any of the fighting, but tries to use his religious influence as a means of putting an end to the bloodshed. When the fine is collected, he is usually given twenty or thirty dollars. Sometimes, however, he is ignored. Shorfa of Targuist have in the past attempted to interfere in Beni Urriaghel and Gzennaya, but without success or remuneration, for which reason they have for some time ceased paying attention to wars within these tribes. [728]

When the fight is in Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, or Mtiwa, the others of this group send their envoys, and those from Bokoya and Beni Gmil attend as well; when the fight is in Mtiwa, Beni Khennus and Beni Seddath also participate.

When the fight is in Beni Ulishk or Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Temsaman, Beni Said, and Beni Mohammed and Khebaba of the Gzennaya take part.

When it is in Beni Said, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Bu Ifrur, Beni Sidel, and Gzennaya send representatives. Beni Said is the only tribe which has recognised the value of such mediation when actually in trouble, since it sends for the Gzennaya councillors to come and settle it for them. They have seldom resisted the intervention of the great council of tribes, preferring to pay the fine rather than continue a destructive internal quarrel.

Beni Bu Ifrur has not fought internally for a long time, since it is all one related group. Beni Sidel has been known to fall into such a difficulty, and Beni Said, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Ifrur, send councillors, while the sheikhs of Ait Shisher and Masuza also come. These sheikhs are given none of the proceeds. Beni Said wields the greatest influence in such gatherings.

When Beni Sidel and Beni Bu Ifrur fight together, the same alignment appears, and with the others go the sheikhs of Ulad Stut.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Beni Bu Yafer has fought internally upon a number of occasions, but the other groups do not interfere, since they have learned from experience that the Beni Bu Yafer do not submit until after an arduous struggle, at the end of which they do not possess enough property to pay a fine worth the trouble of interfering. In consequence of this, they are not allowed to send their councillors to other tribes.

For a considerable period of time there has been no fighting worthy of intervention in Mazuza, Ait Shisher, or Kebdana; this is perhaps due to the early influence of the Spaniards upon these regions.

When the fighting is in Beni Bu Yahyi or Metalsa no councillors bother to go, since the land is too difficult to travel in, and since there are no houses to burn, and no property to confiscate which cannot readily be moved away before their arrival. Banditry has always been rife among these tribes, and active feuds between *bones* perpetual. Theft, in the Rif considered a crime unless practiced outside the tribe and its allies, is among the nomads an honorable profession when practiced between *bones*.

When the fight is between any of the tribal groups in the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, the others of this group send their councillors and sheikhs, and Gzennaya as well sends councillors. In the meeting which follows Gzennaya plays the dominant rôle.

When the fight is within the Senhaja Sghir, the Sherif of Targuist betakes himself to the scene, accompanied by the councillors of the non-combatant tribes under his control. The Sherif collects the fine, keeping most of it, and distributes a small fraction of it among the councillors, who have nothing to say about the matter.

This rule does not apply to Ktama, which has never submitted to the authority of the Sherif. On account of its poverty and inaccessibility, Ktama is free from the intervention of councillors from other tribes; consequently it is in a constant state of turmoil, and banditry is common. This tribe has always been noted for its lawlessness, and has been generally avoided by travellers.

The tribes of the west, including the Western Arabophone Senhaja and the Ghomara, do not send representatives out to stop war and collect fines. This territory likewise enjoys a perennially bad reputation.

Some mention should be made of the ultimate disposal of money and other property taken by the various administrative bodies. Fines collected by the village council are kept by the moderator of that body for the entertainment of guests in the local mosque, for the purchase of tea, sugar, other foodstuffs, and candles for the council to use during its deliberations, and for cartridges and firearms to be used by members of the *bone* in time of war.

Fines collected by the council of the great are partly divided between the *bones*, partly given to the *fkih* or preceptor of the cantonal mosque, and partly expended upon the upkeep of, and hospitality in, this building.

Fines collected by the tribal council are divided equally among the *fifths* and then equally among *cantons* within the *fifths*. The moderator of each council of the great divides the money allotted his *canton* among the councillors who participated in the events which led to its collection, and among ordinary fighting men, if these were called upon to reënforce the councillors. The moderator distributes the money publicly at one time, giving more to the men who deported themselves bravely than to those who showed but mediocre interest in the fighting. Men who manifested cowardice and men who are absent from or come late to the division get nothing.

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CHAPTER VIII

MARKETS

DIFFERENT aspects of this subject have already been discussed in the chapters dealing with material culture, social organization, and government.[1] Since indeed the primary purpose of the market is economic, it is the seat of operation of an interesting social class, and likewise often the local administrative center. Hence, little remains for description save the general scheme and coördination of the whole.

A market meets weekly on a fixed day and in a fixed place. There is usually but one to a *canton*, although this rule, like all others, has its exceptions. The days and locations of markets are so correlated that it is possible for a person living in almost any place to reach a market on foot and return home again on any day of the week except Friday, when markets are never held. The word for market in both *thamazighth* and Arabic is *suḳ*, and markets are given the names of the days on which they are held. Thus all markets meeting on Thursday are called *suḳ el khemis*, or simply *el khemis*. Markets meeting on the same day are distinguished by the addition of the names of the places in which they are held.

Thursday markets are more important than the others, as a general rule, because Friday is the Mohammedan sabbath and provisions for it must be obtained in advance.

Each market is administered by the council of the great of the *canton*. This body has a house, or among the nomads, a tent, in or on the outskirts of the market. (See plate 30.) On market days it generally meets in a room of this edifice. Most such houses have a second room which is used as a rest-room for people attending the market, or as a guard-house for retainers of the councillors. Cases which have accumulated during the week are brought before the council of the great at this time, since defendants in situations which concern the councillors often prefer to postpone their appeals or complaints until market day rather than request the moderator of the council of the great to have a special meeting called for a single case.

Any offenses committed in market are considered more serious than if committed elsewhere, and are more heavily fined; offenses which would otherwise concern the village council are brought to the attention of the council of the great if committed in market.

The division of spoils among the members of a *canton* who have participated in a tribal war is often made in market.

In the markets under the authority of the Ikhemrijen, firearms must be left outside before their owners may enter. In other markets rifles were usually carried before the European occupation. Serious fights sometimes arose in markets, in some cases so severe that the tribal council convened and decreed the market closed forever, lest the sight of the place where kinsmen had died might in future remind members of the different *bones* of their mutual grievances and incite them to further violence.

The chief purpose of every market is of course the buying and selling of goods. (See plates 30, 31, and 32.) The vendors of different articles are segregated according to their wares, the cloth merchants, the women selling pottery, and so forth. The butchers are rele-

[1] Chapters IV–VII.

443 [673] [727] [p. 109]

616 619 726 [614] [728] It must be remembered, however, that not every man in a tribe participated in that tribe's wars (though the participants were always remembered long after the non-participants were forgotten), and in some cases--although they were few--whole clans even remained neutral, though hardly aloof. It is, we suspect, to situations like these that Blanco refers when he states that it is possible to have more than two liffs in a given tribe, for the neutrals would generally be instrumental in arranging for a truce. In this sense, then, they could form, in effect, a third liff--those who opted out of war in any case, and who sometimes even buried the dead of the belligerents: the lineage of Ihawtshen, of foreign ancestry (from the Axt Tuzin), living in the clan territory of the Aith Turirth of Aith Waryaghar and greatly scorned by them, is a classic example; and there are others, as well. [563] Warfare was demanded of the majority, but a minority could find safety through humility, as the few Jews living in the Rif were able and 000 expected to do.

[114] [729] 19--Quite true in theory, but in practice he might seek safety in humility, and bury the dead of the combatants, as the Ihautshen did in Aith Turirth.

[114] 20--This at best is dubious, but at the time he wrote these words, Blanco, like all his French counterparts, was entranced and virtually blinded by the liff theories of Montagne, who thought that liff systems were the be-all and end-all of Berber political sociology.

[682] 21--If a murderer, as was generally the case, was not able to pay the full amount of the rhaqq levied upon him by the imgharen, his agnates and, if necessary, his liff-mates were called in to help him out.

616 619 [162] [614] 22--This is certainly true of the Thafarsith; and although the Aith 'Ammarth are a fair-sized tribe, 13246 strong (in 1960), it is bordered in the east and southeast by the two giants of the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar, 75695 in 1960, and the Igzinnayen, 41653 in 1960. The Aith 'Ammarth feuded bitterly among themselves, also (so ferociously, it is said, that each liff had its own market and its own qa'id); and the principles outlined in note 18 apply here very neatly. One of their liffs, consisting of the clans of Aith 'Abbu and Ija'umen, was aided by the neighboring Igzinnayen clan of Asht 'Asim, as well as by another neighboring clan of another tribe, the Aith Hadhifa of the Aith Waryaghar; while the second moiety, consisting of the clans of the Aith S'aid Ikhrif and Aith r-Hasayin, was abetted by another neighbor, the non-Rifian (in this case, "Jbalan") tribe of the Marnisa. Although even the giants of the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen both respected the fighting ability of the Aith 'Ammarth, the latter were and are too small to try to get away with anything. These neighbors, therefore, they left severely alone, although they regularly trounced their smaller Sanhaja Srir neighbors of the Aith Bshir and Zarqat.

000 23--Blanco's two different classes of liffs, individual and general, are, in effect, my impermanent, shifting and intra-clan type and my permanent, intermittently reactivated and intra-tribal type, as described in note 18.

24--This is a well-taken point, if a somewhat obvious one. Women, in theory, do not fight, but in more than one instance they have been able to strike blows for the men of their liff. A woman's allegiance, in the